

AMERICAN
WORKERS
LOOK AT
the Soviet Union



SCANNED

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the Soviet Union

IMPRESSIONS OF THE AMERICAN
TRADE UNION DELEGATION
THAT VISITED THE SOVIET UNION
IN JUNE AND JULY 1951



FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
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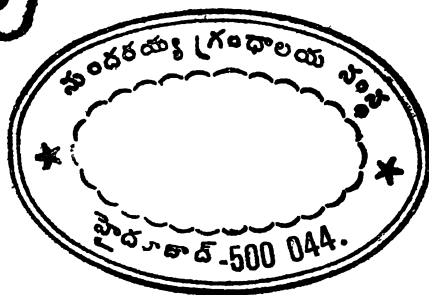
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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

SCANNED

This booklet contains speeches made by members of the American labour delegation at meetings with trade unionists, texts of their radio addresses, articles written by them for the Soviet press, and impressions of visits to factories and institutions, as well as the report which the delegation made in New York

This edition follows the pamphlet published in Russian by Profizdat, Moscow 1951



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An American labour delegation visited the Soviet Union in the summer of 1951 at the invitation of the Central Council of Trade Unions of the U S S R

The group consisted of eleven members Leon Straus (Chairman of the delegation), Vice-President of the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union of the U S and Canada, Hilliard Ellis (Co-Chairman of the delegation), General Organizer, Local 453, United Automobile Workers of America, C I O , Chicago, Ill , Fred Saniat, member of the executive board of a Chicago local of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, Stanley Beczkiewicz, President of Lake States Council No 4, United Shoe Workers of America, C I O , Lee Candea, representing rank and filers of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union, A F of L , Warren Hoover, President of Local 751, United Electrical and Radio Workers of America, Niles, Ohio, Hector Jacques, representing a New York division of the Distributive, Processing and Office Workers of America, Marie Bowden, representing members of the Sheet Metal Workers' International Assoc (A F of L), Los Angeles, California, Vincent Moscato, member of the executive board of United Retail and Wholesale Workers (C I O), New York, John Blackwell, Secretary, Local 14 of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union in Wallace, Idaho, Henry R Batke Jr, Chairman, Radio Committee, Local 931, United Electrical Workers of America, St Joseph, Michigan

The delegates, men and women of different political and religious convictions, represented different unions, including auto workers, miners, machine workers, sheet metal workers, shoe workers, fur workers, leather workers, united electrical workers, hotel and restaurant employees, and retail and wholesale workers—some A F of L, some C I O and some independent unions

In Moscow, the delegation expressed the desire to become acquainted in detail with the Soviet people's living and working conditions. It planned its own tour of the Soviet Union, visiting Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, Zaporozhie and the Crimea. The delegates inspected factories, cultural institutions, hospitals, sanatoriums, children's summer camps and a collective farm, and attended theatre, movie and concert performances.

When the delegation members said they would like to share their impressions of their stay in the Soviet Union, meetings with trade unionists were arranged in Moscow and Leningrad. The delegates spoke on the Moscow radio to tell their impressions to American workers.

The aim of this booklet is to acquaint readers with these impressions.



Leon Straus



Hilliard Ellis



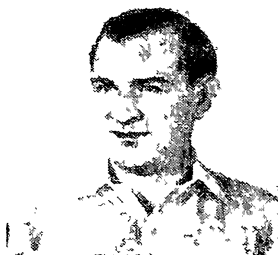
Fred Sanlat



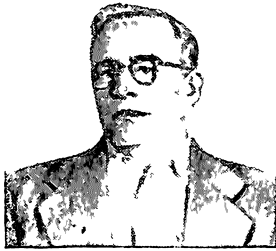
Stanley Beczkewicz



Lee Candea



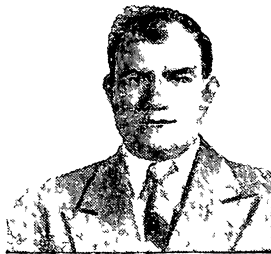
Warren Hoover



Hector Jacques



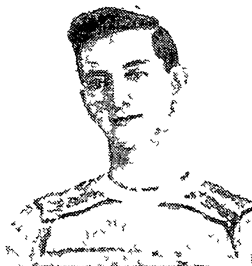
Marie Bowden



Vincent Moscato



John Blackwell



Henry R Batke, Jr



Arrival at the Moscow airport

WE COME TO YOU ON BEHALF OF AMERICAN WORKERS

LEON STRAUS

Speech at Moscow Airport

Fellow trade unionists and people of Moscow and of the Soviet Union On behalf of the delegates who are here with me, and on my own behalf, as well as that of the workers we represent, I want to extend our greetings and our thanks for the reception as well as for the invitation to visit your country

In America we have been told many things about your country. Some of the things are believed by the majority of the American people, some are not understood by the American people, and some of us do not believe all the things we

are told We are happy to accept this invitation of the Soviet trade unions to see with our own eyes and hear with our own ears and learn the truth for ourselves

We have been told that the Soviet Union is responsible for all the war-like preparations that are taking place in the world today Those of our soldiers who fought in the last war against fascism, uniting with the Russian soldiers in the war against fascism, find that very hard to believe

Therefore, in conclusion, we come to you on behalf of the American workers and American people that we represent with the desire to continue the full friendship that exists between the Russian and American people for many years, and with the hope that our visit may help in your country, as it may in our country, to develop that friendship to new and greater heights And we come to you with a message on behalf of the American people who we know want peace, with the hope that our two peoples will overcome any and all obstacles and see to it that we do have peace

THE SOVIET PEOPLE DESIRE PEACE

LEE CANDEA

Radio Speech

This is Lee Candea speaking While I have been in the Soviet Union just about a week some impressions have already been made that are so strong I will never forget them For one thing, Moscow itself is a beautiful and wonderful city Its combination of new and old architectural and historical landmarks and buildings is indeed inspiring. Your Metro—or subway—is an amazing, enduring achievement and again combines architectural, historical and decorative beauty with its spaciousness, cleanliness, correct lighting and ventilation. Your museums and libraries should indeed

be a pride of the Soviet people, and your parks enhance greatly the charm of Moscow

Your widely developed housing construction and construction plans are something to be marveled at and are truly an indication of the desire for peace in this world, for you couldn't build so much if there were thoughts of destruction

It was a thrilling experience for me to go to the concert, the operetta and the ballet. It is understandable why the theatres were so packed with music-loving people, for rarely have I seen such a high degree of artistry. The music, dancing and singing will be an unforgettable memory.

It is a pleasure to walk down the street and see the stores bulging with food, and flowers on every corner. I see the trees and the growing greens as a sign of the Soviet people's love for those things that live. Everywhere I've gone, down the streets, in the suburbs, in the Metro, in the hotel



On Soviet Square, Moscow

where I am staying, I seem to be surrounded by happy people, smiling, warm, friendly faces

I am deeply impressed by the large number of women who seem to be involved in every phase of your life here I've seen women as train engineers, subway station agents, conductors, technical experts in museums, department heads in the hotel, and yesterday when we visited the hospital for the railroad workers I saw a high degree of doctors and specialists, and I'm told that when I visit the different industries I'll have the opportunity to see and speak to a large proportion of women in jobs on every level.

In our country there are, according to some A F of L figures, approximately 19 million women in industry However, the major occupations in which they work are clerical work or white collar work, while one fourth of the 19 million are employed in semiskilled factory work, domestic work, the clothing industry and in service industries In other industries or phases of life women are a great minority. But while women are a minority in most fields in one question we are a tremendous majority We want peace, not war. Only peace

Here in Moscow I've seen and felt that peace is synonymous with eating, sleeping and drinking, the necessities of life I not only see it in the faces of the women but in their achievements and their participation in all the problems facing the people. I perhaps did not have the same level of understanding till I saw all of the reconstruction going on here and saw what the last war did to the people here Not to forget the millions of Russian heroes who lost their lives fighting against fascism

We in America too have suffered in the last war Many of our husbands and brothers were taken away from us never to come back And even though our land did not receive the destruction your land has, the overwhelming majority of the American women, I'm sure, feel as I do that I

don't want war, for we want peace We want to have our homes We don't want to hate, we want to love We want our families with us I don't want my son to grow up to be a soldier, and all American wives and mothers feel the way I do And if you hear there is confusion in America on this question, let me tell you the confusion is not on war or peace, the confusion may be on how to fight for peace The women's peace movement in America is growing Mothers have banded together to cry out for peace and many of us are showing the way to organize and fight for peace, for we are sure that the American women, yes, the American people, when the truth is known, will join me in calling for peace as proud Americans and as a people proud of our old tradition of freedom, for truly we want peace too

I WAS ASTONISHED AT THE CARE GIVEN TO THE WORKERS

FRED SANIAT

Radio Speech

The Central Council of Trade Unions of the U S S R has made it possible for us to visit the Crimea and made it possible for us to visit some of the sanatoriums and rest homes for the workers of the Soviet Union I was astonished and amazed at the care given to the workers and their rest and at the small amount of money they must pay for their vacation Not only do they have the Black Sea for enjoyment while swimming, but clean homes and wonderful food plus all medical care that is necessary for them to enjoy their vacation period

My own local union of the United Electrical Workers of America of the city of Chicago had just purchased a sanatorium for our people as I left there for my visit to the European countries I know it will be many years before

we reach the peak of efficiency that you have in your sanatoriums down in the Crimea With these medical sanatoriums you have it proves that the Soviet trade unions not only have the welfare of their workers at heart while working in factories but also when they are vacationing for rest and peace from everyday life

In conclusion I wish to quote our Lord Jesus Christ and just add a little phrase to his quotation

"Let there be peace and good will toward all men of the world that they may live happily in peace regardless of their political views, regardless of what flag their country may be flying Let there be peace"

CHILDREN: THE COUNTRY'S FUTURE

WARREN HOOVER

Radio Speech

Dear friends, I would like to express my appreciation for the splendid reception given to me on behalf of the people of the Soviet Union both in Moscow and Leningrad I will confine my remarks to Leningrad We were given the same warm and friendly reception on our arrival in Leningrad We visited many places of interest We visited several shops and were deeply impressed with the modern equipment and the lack of speed-up prevailing in these shops The facilities for protection of the health of the workers, their comfort, education and recreation were of much interest to us also

We attended a ballet of amateurs, the cast of which was made up of workers and the children of workers

There we were given an ovation of welcome and love I think was second to none, proving to us that the Soviet children have only a feeling of love and friendship towards



At a sanatorium for agricultural workers in Yalta

the American people, for everyone knows that the affection of little children is sincere. We witnessed a performance of ability quite beyond my ability to describe, a performance long to be remembered.

The people are to be encouraged to continue to raise their children in such pleasant and commendable activities, for the future of your country rests with the children of today, and given such training you will not have to worry about their destiny in the tomorrows to come.

I know that the great majority of the workers of the United States desire only friendship with the people of the Soviet Union, and on my return I will give the message of friendship from the Soviet people to those whom I represent so as to establish unity between our peoples.

EMERGENCY BRINGS SPIRALLING PRICES IN U.S.A.

HENRY R. BATKE, Jr

Radio Speech

We all know that war means hardships, including death for many of the fighting men, the soldiers. Here is an example of what is the value of the talk about the so-called "equality" of sacrifices. The rich are able to attend college. Thereby they are immune from the draft law. The poor, however, have no escape and must therefore yield to many of the hardships. Because of the so-called emergency with its continually spiralling prices, the working people have to wage a continuous struggle trying to keep up with the prices and maintain normal and decent living conditions.



In Petrodvorets, near Leningrad

Now I don't know of any average American who has profited by war. Pure unadulterated murder, caused by the lust and greed of a few for power and riches! Millions of dollars are being spent for implements of war which do not add to the happiness of the people I have met and spoken to. Nor do they help clothe the children or adults in the sium areas of our country.

The coloured people, because they are asking for the rights which they are guaranteed in the constitution of the United States, are being daily discriminated against. The rich, however, seem to be doing well. Their profits in the past two or three years have doubled and in some cases tripled.

In the process of returning for war in the different industries, the working man has been caught in a vise throughout the country and left with not enough money. The food, clothing and rent bills, however, have to be paid. Even now a new tax law is ready to dig even deeper into the income of the worker, to the extent of about 800 dollars per year in the near future.

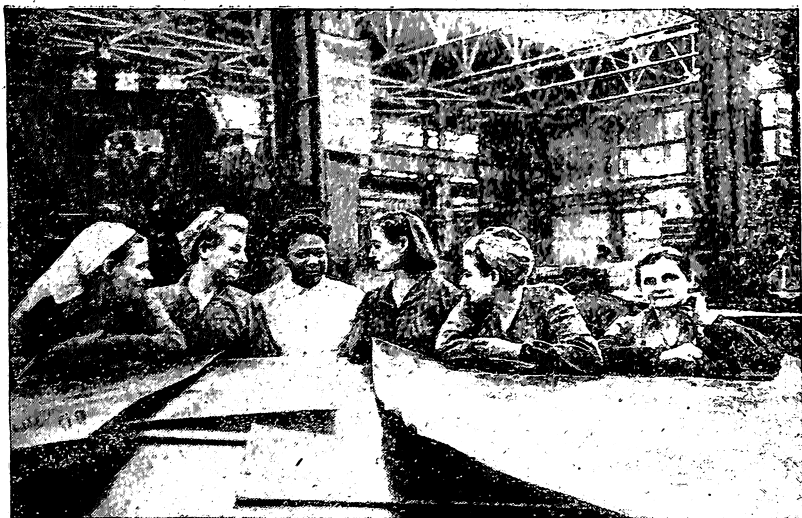
LIBERTY CAME TO ME FROM ANOTHER COUNTRY

MARIE BOWDEN

Statement to the Press

I have come to the Soviet Union to investigate the conditions of labour and to a great extent I must rely upon an interpreter. The reactionary observer may be able to say that these interpretations are dishonest, but he will be incapable of denying what I see with my own eyes.

I am incapable of isolating the labour question from the life of the Soviets as a whole. I feel that the economic status of a Soviet citizen must of necessity reflect the political and



Marie Bowden with workers of the steel mill in Zaporozhie

social status. I would like to therefore deal with and compare the qualitative status of the Negro woman in America and in the Soviet Union.

So very much I have walked since I have been in Europe that I have worn out the shoes that in my home I would have worn another year, not because transportation was not furnished, but because even a bus or automobile does not enter the building of a factory or an opera for an evening's entertainment.

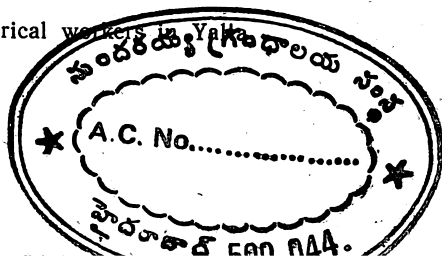
I have met a hundred or more groups of people, and the slightest smile from me brought smiling responses, and more handshakes and doves of friendship and peace and kisses. Can a reactionary deny this to me? I say no. I have talked to Soviet citizens by the dozens, who answered me in their own language, and there was no interpreter and we kept talking, and never in my life have I felt so loved.

In America there is a saying, "Say it with flowers." This is an actuality in the Soviet Union. They met me with flowers, and clasped my hands tight, and more than that, they put theory into life.

I never hesitated to believe Paul Robeson, when he said that for the first time he had walked with dignity in the Soviet Union. But Paul is nevertheless a man—a man whom many men would do themselves proud to walk in the image of, whom Negro people can be proud of, progressive people can take the leadership of, and whom reactionary people fear. Embodied in Paul are the pride, hope, aspirations of the Negro people. Embodied in my Paul is the symbol of freedom, equality and peace with all working people, from all the world. Very truly I love him.



At a sanatorium for electrical workers in Yalta



I am a Negro woman, I come from the most oppressed section of the United States of America. As such I had to know what the position of a rank-and-file worker, a woman and a Negro woman would be in the Soviet Union. And I say truthfully that some of the progressive theoreticians on the Negro question in the United States would be put to shame when it comes to putting into practice the actuality of their theorizing as compared to the Soviet people.

Without taking any undue glory from the Soviet performers in the opera *The Tsar's Bride*, I might say unqualifiedly that I was truly the star of the theatre. After each act of the performance, while I was in the vestibule of the theatre, hundreds of people crowded around me to greet me, to kiss me, to wish world peace, and especially peace with the Americans and Negro people in particular. A group of girls told me that they were daughters of workers and were studying at a higher technical school for the work that they had chosen. They followed me outside when I prepared to leave, to give me a dove of peace for my coat lapel.

Some looked at me amazed that I had gotten from behind our iron curtain at home. I recalled the Statue of Liberty in the harbour as I had left New York, with its inscription saying, "Give me your poor and your humble." I had been both, but her eyes were closed, yes, closed for all these hundred years. And the liberty for which she stood came to me from another country, from another people who knew how to give love, freedom and equality to all.

1228 W. 37th Drive,
Los Angeles, 4, California

I UNDERSTAND WHY YOUR WORKERS ARE HAPPY

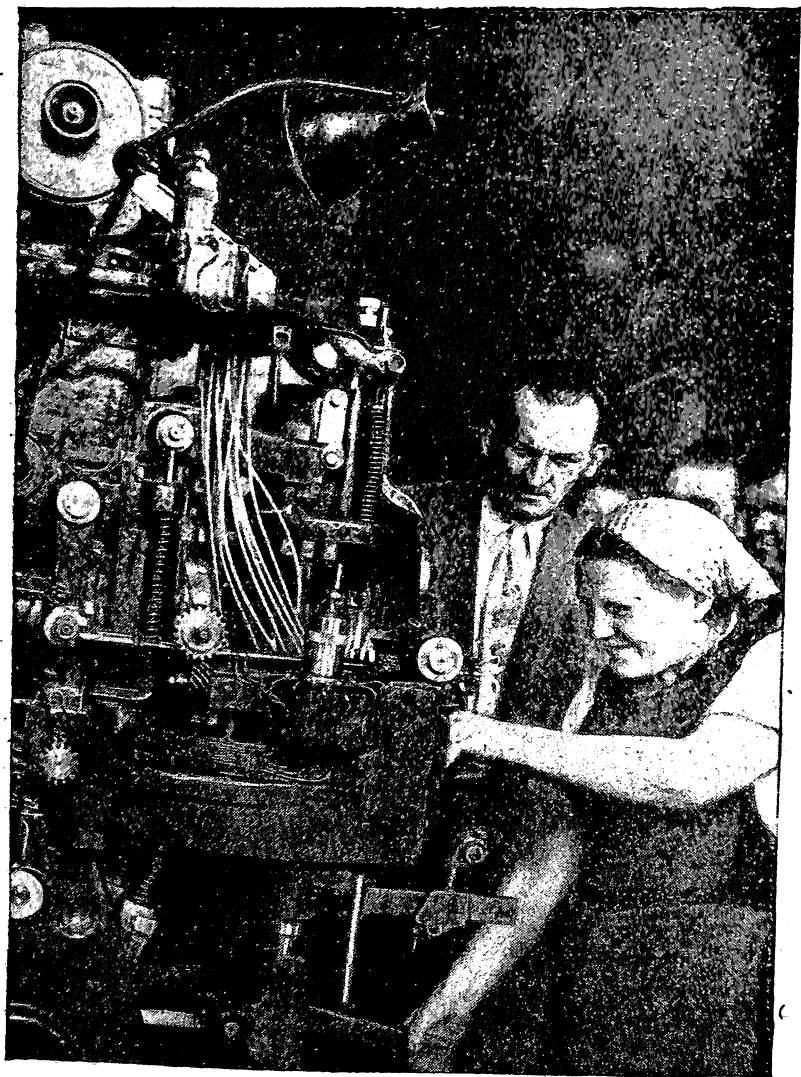
STANLEY BECKIEWICZ

Statement to the Press

As a member of the American labour delegation I was accorded the privilege of inspecting the Skorokhod Shoe Factory. Upon arrival we were greeted by those in charge of the plant, and ushered into the plant. We were introduced to the chief engineer, who described in detail the operation of the factory and its background. After he finished, questions were asked by the delegation and he answered them. Being a shoe worker myself, I can fully appreciate what was said, and it gave me information for which my people have to some extent sent me.

What I saw amazed me, for the simple reason that I've never seen a plant so perfectly set up for the production of shoes, the conveyer system being something new. This way of production does not exist in my part of the country, and for the whole of America you may have about 10 per cent using this method of production, most factories using the truck or rack to move the shoes from one worker to another. I consider this method far more efficient and less tiring on the worker, because it is a known fact that about 20 per cent of time is used in pushing and pulling under crowded conditions. This of course does not help to produce pairs of shoes, and the worker gets tired much faster.

Another thing I noticed is the large number of women doing what in America are considered highly-skilled jobs. In most of these operations men are used and they consider it hard work, yet here women do it with such ease that I was amazed. The percentage in our shoe factories is about 65 per cent men and 35 per cent women, and women doing mostly stitching or packing; here it seemed like 85 per cent.



At the Skorokhod Shoe Factory in Leningrad

women and 15 per cent men, and women doing all types of work.

Another good impression was the fact that your factory was very well ventilated and very clean. The same cannot be said for most factories in America. This of course adds to the comfort of the worker and makes for more production.

There are no lay-offs for workers and they have social benefits. In America lay-offs are a plague to workers of the shoe industry, and social benefits are not common. Each group of workers must fight their employer for whatever they can get from him, very often going on long strikes and often gaining a minimum of social benefits for their efforts. Your health and first-aid program for the protection of the workers' health is something unheard-of in America.

We cannot forget that your school for workers is one of the newest developments ever heard of in the shoe industry. By contrast, the American shoe industry says you can take a worker off the street and make a shoe worker of him, but that is a costly and inefficient way and increases the cost of the shoe, for which the consumer must pay.

I would like to express a personal message of thanks to all those who accorded me the privilege of seeing the shoe factory. I can understand now why your production is high and your workers are happy and willing to cooperate to help their own cause, which of course means security on the job, no lay-offs and increased pay as a result of their productivity.

In other words, I was very, very much impressed.

3720 E. Birchwood Ave.,
Cudahy, Wisconsin, U.S.A.

FOR THE FIRST TIME I, A NEGRO, WAS SHOWERED WITH LOVE

HILLIARD ELLIS

Statement to the Press

I can now understand fully the reason the U.S. State Department does not want Americans to visit behind the "iron curtain," and especially Negro Americans. It is a known fact that the U.S. Government practises and encourages discrimination against its largest minority, the Negro people. This is amplified by the Jim Crow set-up in Washington D.C., the nation's capital. Therefore all measures are taken to discourage Negro people from seeking the truth about such countries as the Soviet Union.

The Wall Street crowd fear the possible repercussion that might come with the opening of the eyes of this most militant section of the working class that could destroy the very foundation on which this Jim Crow system is built. It is now a matter of fact that Negro people are relegated to the menial jobs, poor housing, least amount of schooling, and special brutal treatment.

I consider myself fortunate and privileged to have seen life in a new way in the Soviet Union that not only made me feel proud as a worker but also as a Negro. I had been taught that capitalism afforded the best opportunities for the working people, that I, a Negro, should be proud to fight for the maintenance of our so-called "American way of life."

I must admit that to be kept in semislavery is hardly anything to be proud of or to be defended. In reality it shows the hypocrisy of those that yell the loudest about democracy, and tell blatant lies about "slave labour" in the Soviet Union.

I have seen with my own eyes, have witnessed and talked with hundreds of workers, in Leningrad, Stalingrad, Mos-

cow, Zaporozhie, and nowhere have I found this "slave labour." In fact, the workers work with a devotion which shows they are the real owners of the plants. I have not once seen the "speed-up" as we know it in America.

In the Soviet Union I found that people are given the opportunity to advance because of ability, rather than what stock you were born from. I also found that the workers' health came first, not machinery or production.

I also found that there are no gouging landlords that squeeze every penny the traffic will bear out of innocent victims who must have shelter. In the Soviet Union the workers pay between three to six per cent of their earnings for rent.

The working conditions of the Soviet workers are ideal compared to conditions of workers in plants that I am per-



At a Leningrad machine factory

sonally familiar with. The factories that I visited in the principal cities of the Soviet Union were clean, with good ventilation, with every type of safety and health precaution imaginable.

I also found that the workers have the necessary machinery to have their grievances processed, even to the extent that it could mean the removal of the plant manager. (Just imagine this happening at General Motors, U.S.A.)

The vacations are from 14 to 30 days for the workers. If workers are absent from work due to illness, they suffer no loss in pay.

This explains why the workers look upon their jobs as working for themselves. This explains why there are no strikes. Can you imagine a carpenter building his own home striking against building a dwelling for himself and his family? The Soviet workers are carpenters, building their future homes.

Being in the Soviet Union these few weeks, I have witnessed the pride with which the people are steadily improving the beauty of their country, the cleanliness of the streets; I have seen no staggering drunks, no dope addicts, and no prostitution.

The Soviet Union allows those who believe religion to practise religion. Those who are not religious are not molested. It is true that the church is forbidden to enter into politics or engage in bingo rackets. And to my way of thinking that is the way it should be.

To appreciate the high cultural standard of the Soviet people, you must first look at the educational and cultural structure that is given to all citizens of this country. Instead of "pig alley trash," there are culture centres, operas, concerts, and healthy, decent films. And seemingly everyone is trying to improve his knowledge and develop the mind. This is true of the old as well as the young.

After living with these friendly people for these few weeks, I must say I have never seen a more devoted people



Delegates Hilliard Ellis and Vincent Moscato
in a Yalta barber shop

to the causes which its leaders are fighting for, such as peace, building for Communism, and improving the health and wealth of the nation.

The late Franklin D. Roosevelt was loved by the common people throughout America. I say from my observation that Joseph Stalin is loved much more by the people of the 16 republics that compose the Union of Soviet Republics. Practically everywhere that you may go in this Land of Socialism the following three names ring out, Lenin, Stalin, and our great Negro leader, Paul Robeson. Robeson, an American and Negro, is loved by the Soviet people.

The rest homes for the workers in the Crimea, the summer camps for the children, the joy and singing that ring

out from everywhere, point up to me the freedom and appreciation workers have for their country. I have seen many human beings in my lifetime, but nowhere have I seen a happier people. On every lip there is an expression of peace, peace, peace. That is the word that is heard most in this country.

The children, adults, porters, doctors, intellectuals, all have something in common, and that is the desire for peace. And to speak of peace in this country shows a genuine understanding of war. Most of us in America really cannot appreciate what war really is. I thought I had a good concept of war, but must admit that even my imagination could not stretch to the real devastation and destruction that the peoples of the Soviet Union that I saw lived through. These people lost over seven million of their loved ones in World War II, saw their homes blown to bits, their places of work destroyed, towns demolished, food and stock destroyed, and if Americans had a similar experience, there would be more people in America speaking up for peace.

The Soviet people and especially the youth gave me the greatest pleasure that I have ever enjoyed, a new pride in being a human being, in being a Negro. Nothing can take this new insight on freedom from me. Here I went about as any other individual, not as a freak of nature or an oddity. I wonder what would happen to me if I walked into a barber shop in Stevens Hotel in Chicago, to be shayed, as I have done so often here in the National Hotel in Moscow? I can imagine my landing in an insane asylum because the ruling class would say that I would have to be insane to expect such accommodations from a shop other than a Jim-Crowed shop.

For the first time I, a Negro, was showered with love and affection. Not any "phoney or patronizing show," but real genuine love, with such deep moral and human decency that is part of the Soviet people.

I look forward to the day that they will achieve their goal where the slogan, "To each according to his needs," will be a reality.

And finally, the weeks I have spent learning a new way of life in the Soviet Union will help me in America to fight for freedom, peace, prosperity and good-fellowship of all mankind.

4810 West Cermack,
Cicero, Illinois

THE SOVIET UNION HAS A PEACEFUL ECONOMY

LEON STRAUS

Radio Speech

The delegation of American trade unionists has come to the Soviet Union without any prejudiced notions. We represent different sections of the country. We represent different unions, including automobile workers, miners, fur workers, leather workers, shoe workers, united electrical workers—some A.F. of L., some C.I.O. and some independent unions.

We came with many questions on our minds and we found some of the answers to these questions in our visits to Leningrad and to Moscow. Here we have seen already many plants. We have talked to the workers in these plants. We have not gone on any guided tour. When we arrived here, we asked to see the industries that we worked in ourselves. And so we were taken to these plants. In the automobile plant that we visited, for instance, in Moscow, where they produce the Moskvich, a car that we see so often in the city of Moscow, we stopped and talked to the workers at random. We picked out the workers—no guides, no interpreters se-



At the Linotype Plant in Leningrad

lected special categories of workers for us. We must have spoken to hundreds of workers. We asked them about their pay, about the rent they pay, about the money they pay for food, for clothing, we asked about their conditions, about their safety devices, about their insurance plants, their sick insurance, their old-age pensions, their vacation funds and so on.

And we learned a great deal. We learned essentially that their working conditions are good, that they have insurance benefits for which they do not pay, that their children are well protected, that they go to rest camps paid for not out of their pay. We learned that there is no speed-up. We learned that there is adequate protection against accidents and illness. We saw hospitals in each of the plants we visited.

And we learned that this kind of production is not one that can take place in a country preparing for war, is not one that can take place in a country that wants war. This is production for peace.

Every single worker we spoke to, every single citizen of the Soviet Union, has repeated that same wholehearted desire to us. I can speak out of personal knowledge of myself and that of the other delegates, having already spoken to hundreds and perhaps thousands of Soviet workers in the factories we visited. Their most earnest desire is for a free and for a peaceful world.

We have seen children who have no hatred for Americans. We have seen these children express their love for us. Now anybody who is an adult, it can be said, can be indoctrinated in a hatred toward Americans here in the Soviet Union, if that were the policy of the government. But certainly no one can say that children we meet in the street or a concert hall or a ballet theatre where they are performing—no one can say that these children can be taught to lie and be deceitful. Their love and their friendship for us was sincere and honest and decent, and something all



Inspecting a new workers' settlement in Zaporozhie

Americans must respect and, through that, learn that the Soviet people want peace, just as the American people want peace.

I want to call to your attention further that the utmost respect for our people and our nation exists here in the Soviet Union. Trade union leaders called to the attention of the American delegation on July 4th that it was the American national holiday, our day of independence, and they gave us toasts honouring our July 4th and in celebration of the freedom and independence of our land, with the wish that our land and their land shall continue to be free and at peace with one another.

I can only say that what we have seen has indicated to us that this country has a peaceful economy. The automobile plant we visited was built in 1947. That plant produces not tanks, not airplane engines, but small passenger cars for use by the people of the Soviet Union.

I am informed that at this time unfortunately in our country there has been a cut of 40 per cent in automobile production in order for the reconversion to arms production to be able to take place. Here there is no cut-back in civilian production, as far as we have been able to see. We have only seen a greater desire to improve the peaceful activities of this country, to get better and more food in the bakery we were in, and to get better and more shoes in the shoe factory we were in, and the same with automobiles and every other plant that we have visited.

I must conclude that in our country someone must be kidding us. These people don't hate us. They don't want war with us. They are building for peace.



In the Moscow plant where the Moskvich cars
are made

**IN THE GUEST BOOK
OF THE LOW-POWERED AUTO PLANT,
MOSCOW**

The American trade union delegation expresses its appreciation and gratitude for the exceptionally friendly reception given us by the workers of this plant. We have found it to be clean and well-lighted, and the working conditions good. We did not see any speed-up. We talked to the workers and learned that they get good pay, and receive sick pay, vacation pay, pensions and other social insurance benefits without deductions from their wages. The equipment we saw at the

plant was efficient and up-to-date, and we saw finished cars coming off the assembly line.

Congratulations. We stand for friendship between the Soviet and American people. We want firm friendship.

Hilliard Ellis

Fred Saniat

Marie Bowden

Henry R. Batke, Jr.

Leon Straus

Vincent Moscato

Hector Jacques

Stanley Beczkiewicz

Warren Hoover

Lee Candea

John Blackwell

IN THE GUEST BOOK OF THE RAILWAYMEN'S HOSPITAL, MOSCOW

The American trade union delegation to this hospital has found it to be clean, beautiful and scientific.

We were impressed greatly by the democratic and decent treatment of the workers who were patients. Their health seems to be exceptionally well taken care of. It is tremendously educational and exciting to us that all workers in your country are entitled to and get this kind of exceptional care and treatment. Please accept our thanks for the opportunity to see the hospital and our congratulations, our heartiest, warmest fraternal congratulations.

Leon Straus

Stanley Beczkiewicz

Hector Jacques

John Blackwell

Hilliard Ellis

Lee Candea

Marie Bowden

Henry R. Batke, Jr.

Fred Saniat

Warren Hoover

Vincent Moscato

A FREE AND HAPPY PEOPLE

A Statement After Visiting Yalta

The American trade union delegation with workers from New York to California and representing many of the major industries in the U.S., after visiting Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad and Zaporozhie, have come here to Yalta.

In the atmosphere of the historical significance of this city we are reminded of the time when a greater understanding existed between the American people and the Soviet people. For it was here that our great President Roosevelt and the leader of the Soviet people, Premier Stalin, met and made agreements that solidified our peoples in our joint struggle against those who wanted to enslave us, German fascism.

However, the friendship and unity that existed then between our peoples has been partially destroyed. This has been done by those reactionary influences in the U.S. who try to besmirch Roosevelt's reputation and work, by those who cry out against the agreement reached in Yalta, by those who hate the social progress of the American people. Those same interests, not representing the majority of our people, have misrepresented the truth to us. And they have great power over means of communication, press and radio.

We have been told that the Soviet people are hungry, have bad working conditions, that slave labour exists, and that the Soviet Union wants war. We did not satisfy ourselves with the word of those who invited us here, the representatives of the Soviet trade unions, about these things. Instead we talked to hundreds and hundreds of workers in many, many plants and cities. We spontaneously picked them out in a plant at their bench and listened to them. The workers make a good living here in spite of economic problems caused



At the Moscow hospital for railwaymen

by the destruction during the war by the German fascists, and they are well-fed, well-clothed, well-housed. They pay only five to six per cent of their pay for rent, for example. They have from 14 to 30 days a year vacation, they are paid when sick and have unions and collective agreements to protect them. We have not been able to discover any slave labour. The people leave work spontaneously—surround us—answer our questions—ask of our conditions in the U.S. These are a free and happy people.

As to wanting or preparing for war—we have only seen production for peace: autos, tractors, housing construction for workers—an economy of peace. And everyone we spoke to expressed their great friendship for the American people and their greatest desire for peace.

Every city, factory, meeting, or person—bar none—sent a message to the American people through us calling for peace.

We are convinced that it was impossible to prearrange all this—that thousands of workers would show such a wholesome outpouring of affection, warmth and love as we have experienced. The sentiments were real.

This is only a preliminary report. When we complete our tour it will be finalized. At this point we can only conclude that we have been misinformed by those with selfish special interests in the U.S.A. The entire people here believe in friendship with the American people and want to preserve peace.

We who are Americans, who love our country and who have only the best interests of the American people at heart, who believe in President Roosevelt's prime plea of unity and friendship and peace—here at Yalta—call for the redevelopment of that solidarity and friendship between the American and Soviet people without which peace in this world is impossible.

We ask that any differences that may exist between our different social systems be settled by peaceful negotiations,

to the end that the most heartfelt desire of the American people—as we know it—and the same desire of the Soviet people—as we observed it—peace between our two peoples and the peoples of the world, can be attained regardless of any obstacles

Leon Straus

Stanley Beczkiewicz

Hector Jacques

John Blackwell

Hilliard Ellis

Lee Candea

Marie Bowden

Henry R Batke, Jr

Fred Sanat

Warren Hoover

Vincent Moscato

Yalta

MEETING WITH TRADE UNIONISTS IN LENINGRAD

On July 4 the delegation attended a meeting of more than 100 active trade unionists of Leningrad at the Gorky Palace of Culture N N Pshenitsyn, Chairman of the Regional Trade Union Council, presided

Below are the speeches* made at this meeting by Leon Straus, Hilliard Ellis, Marie Bowden and Warren Hoover

THE SOVIET PEOPLE WANT PEACE

LEON STRAUS

On behalf of my union—the International Fur and Leather Workers—and on behalf of the American workers I want to convey our deep friendship and hearty greetings to the Soviet people

This is an especially important day for us. Today is July 4th, our day of independence, and we Americans, now far from our country which we deeply love and to which we wish the very best, take special pleasure in marking this day here at a time when we are working for firm friendship between our peoples, for international solidarity of the workers

International working-class solidarity is something our peoples greatly need in this tense international situation

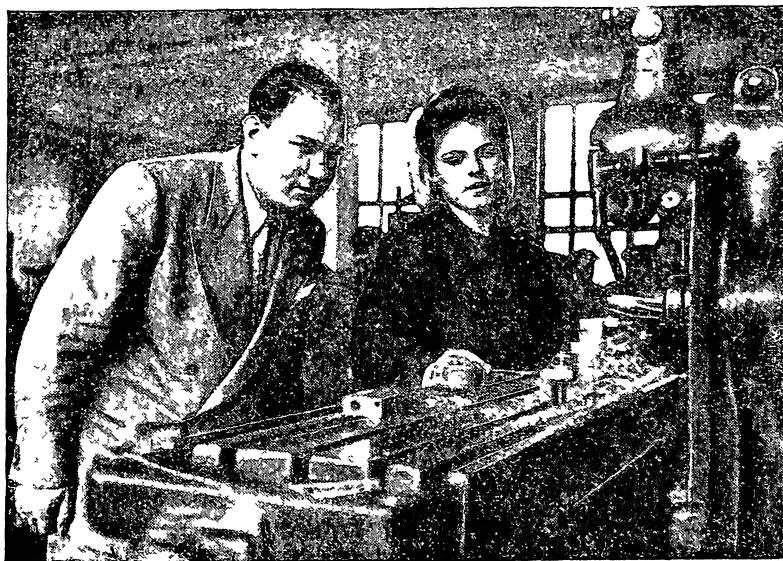
The last time I celebrated July 4th, American Independence Day, in Europe was at the end of the second

* Retranslated from the minutes recorded in Russian —Ed

world war We of the American army joyously marked that day together with your soldiers, who had won victory over fascism, who had won independence from fascist bondage

Our American labour delegation has come here to acquaint itself with the living and working conditions of the Soviet people and with the hope that our visit may help to develop the friendship between our peoples to new and greater heights

Much is said and written about the Soviet Union, and in the main these reports are distorted and coloured by the capitalist press and radio These reports say that the conditions of the workers in the Soviet Union are frightful We have been told, also, that the Soviet people do not have any civil



At a machine factory in Leningrad

liberties, that there is forced labour in the Soviet Union, and that the Soviet people want war

During our short stay in your country we have seen many things and we are convinced (at any rate, I am) that in the Soviet Union there are all the civil rights and that Soviet workers have fine living and working conditions. From my meetings with people here I have arrived at the firm conviction that the sole desire of the Soviet people is peace

Other questions which interest us and to which I hope we will receive a full answer are these: Is there enough food in your country? Are prices rising? What are the conditions of your national minorities?

We would like to see the labour conditions in various industries, and we would like to know whether free choice of jobs exists in the Soviet Union. The bourgeois press says that there is no free choice of jobs in the Soviet Union and hence no freedom

It should be noted that today, when reaction stands at the head of our country, the wheel of history has been turned back, back from the days when Franklin Delano Roosevelt headed our government. Unfortunately the progressive labour laws adopted during Roosevelt's presidency have now been changed fundamentally and are operating in the opposite direction. At the present time such slave laws as the Taft-Hartley Act and Smith Act are being applied in our country. And instead of continuing the efforts which were begun by Roosevelt, our great president, the efforts for unity of the three Great Powers—the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States of America—the policy of our rulers has split the world into two camps

As a result a colossal arms drive has begun in our country. Huge sums are going for war preparations. This naturally affects the living standard of the workers, which is constantly dropping, while the profits of the big corporations are steadily growing

I want to cite some figures on this growth of corporation profits. During the past year they equalled 40 billion dollars, while the cost of living has increased by 190 per cent in the past four years, the food you could buy for ten dollars before the war now costs 24 dollars. Besides, the average working-class family, which makes about 3,000 dollars a year, pays out 800 dollars in taxes to the government. Not so long ago the administration instituted a wage-freeze, under which workers' wages can be raised by no more than 10 per cent, while prices have risen and can increase two, three and four times over.

It should also be pointed out that many trade union leaders have now betrayed the working class and are acting hand in glove with the big corporations. The only aim of such trade union leaders is self-aggrandizement.

But there is also a progressive trade union movement in our country, and it is growing daily. Some of the progressive unions are represented on our delegation.

In our country there are 11 independent unions which have been expelled from the CIO for refusing to follow the policy of its leaders. Besides, there are progressive locals in the reactionary unions.

The progressive unions have a total membership of about 1,000,000. There are, for example, the electrical workers' union, with 300,000 members, and our fur and leather workers' union, with 100,000 members who, irrespective of their political convictions, support a progressive program. A large number of workers in the mine, mill and smelter workers' union, among the West Coast longshoremen and among the workers of the fish industry support a progressive program.

I could list many other progressive unions, but I think it is more important to point out that in a number of the unions headed by reactionary leaders many of the workers do not submit to the leadership. Among such unions, for example, are the united steel workers, the united auto work-

ers and the united shoe workers, which are fighting for progressive demands and which do not submit to the policy of their leadership

However, I do not want you to get the false impression that progressive elements are the majority in the American unions. No, today this is not yet the case, but I want to point out that the progressive locals are coordinating their actions more and more. I also want to note that local coordination committees have been set up in ten cities in the United States.

Still, it should be emphasized that the situation in our country is very difficult and we are up against a very strong opponent.

At the present time the employers are resorting to various methods to split the trade union movement. Humiliation of the national minorities and persecution and lynching of Negroes are continuing in our country.

In this situation of soaring war taxes, increasing persecution of progressive leaders and abolition of civil rights we consider unity and the fight for peace most essential. That is why our American delegation which is here today fully supported the proposal made by U.S. Senator Johnson, the American delegate to the United Nations, and by Soviet delegate Malik for putting an end to the war in Korea. We fully support the proposal for a cease-fire and conclusion of peace in Korea.

In conclusion I want to tell about the great joy we experienced when we saw that the Soviet people sincerely desire peace. The Soviet people want peace, just as the American people want peace.

I want to thank you for the opportunity to visit the Soviet Union so that I can see everything with my own eyes, and I want to assure you that when we return our delegation will work to promote friendly relations between our peoples and world peace.

WE ARE WINNING VICTORIES IN OUR FIGHT

HILLIARD ELLIS

Friends, I am honoured by this opportunity of speaking to you. I know your country and have followed its progress for the past fifteen years, but I never thought I would have a chance to come here and see it all for myself and rejoice in your achievements.

I've been here about two weeks, and so I can't picture it yet very fully myself, but everything I have been able to see has surpassed my expectations. This refers especially to the Soviet people's attitude towards me as a Negro. Paul Robeson, whom you all here probably know, spoke to me about this for many, many hours. I think you would be interested in my telling you how the Negro people are treated in our country today.

As you know (and I have no doubt you do) we, the Negro people in the United States, are fighting for equal rights. There can be no doubt that you also know that under the existing forms of administration in the United States we Negroes are in the position of second-rate citizens, and very often, when we raise the question of equal rights, we are told "Go to Russia." I have had the good luck to come here, to the Soviet Union, and to see with my own eyes what the attitude to the Negro people is here. When I return I will fight all-out for Negro rights.

If we take into account the nonsense spread by the Voice of America, many listeners will find it a bit hard to understand what I am going to say.

The Constitution has a series of amendments, like the 13th, 14th, and 15th, giving the Negro people of the United States equal rights, but though they are native Americans they do not enjoy these rights.

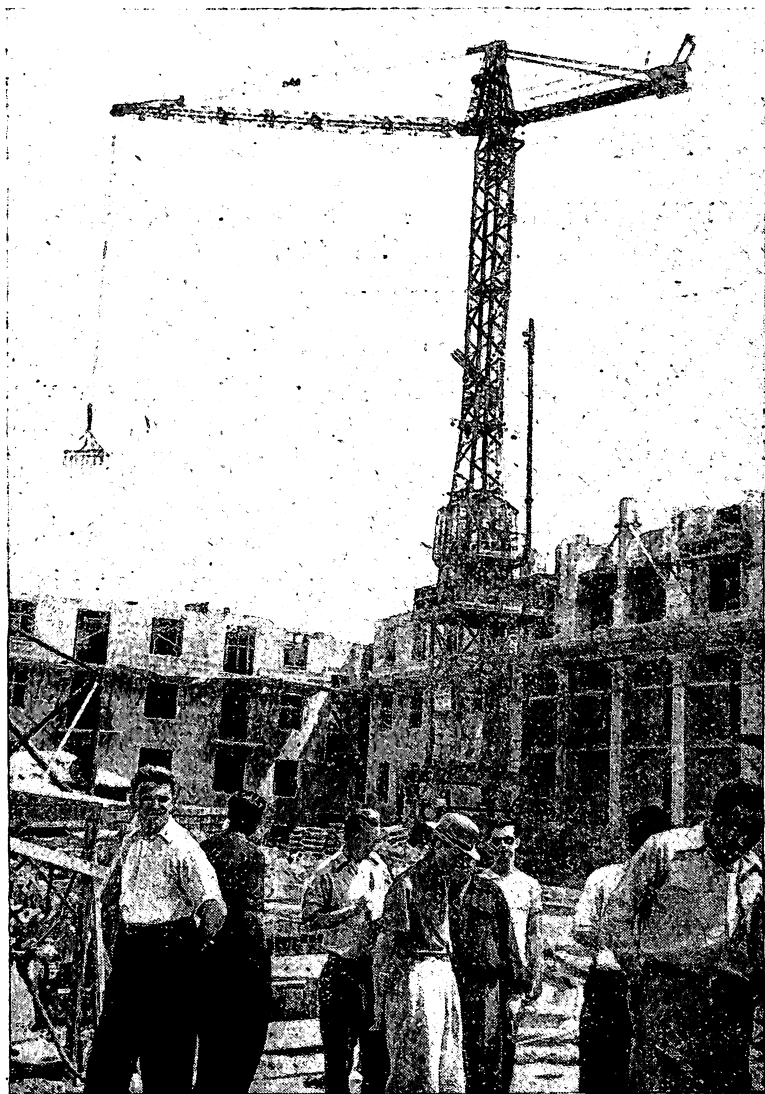
In many parts of the United States you can come across such things, for example, as separate schools for Negroes,

separate hospitals, separate places of entertainment For the Negroes everything is separate And only because they are Negroes

I should like to note that aside from all the suffering caused the Negro people, Negroes are further deprived of equal rights because there is not a single Negro in the government The United States Congress has about five hundred members and it may be of interest to you to point out that there is not a single representative of the workers among these five hundred They are either representatives of the bourgeoisie or lawyers The 15,000,000 Negroes have only two representatives But unfortunately even these two don't express the real interests of the Negro working people They support the policy of the big corporations and the big capitalists

I am sure that the majority of these injustices will be abolished and remedied when we have greater working-class unity and when the Negro people will be the masters of their own destiny Today, when a new war hysteria is so widespread in our country, this is impossible With the war hysteria which we observe in our country, especially during the past year, many progressive leaders are afraid to come out in defence of Negro rights They are also afraid to come out in defence of peace, because those who come out in defence of peace, and in defence of Negro rights, are immediately called Communists and are hounded But I must tell you that the Negro people are very well aware of the Soviet people's attitude toward Negroes

I want to point out that today the Negro people no longer rely upon the leaders of the organization known as the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People Under our leaders Paul Robeson and Ferdinand Smith we have set up the National Council of Negro Workers and, together with the progressive organizations which we here represent, and side by side with other progressive



Visiting a Zaporozhie housing development

organizations in the United States, we are winning victories in our fight

I want again to thank the people of Leningrad, of Moscow and of the Soviet Union for making me feel like a free and equal person for the first time in my life

I HAVE FALLEN IN LOVE WITH YOUR COUNTRY AND YOUR PEOPLE

MARIE BOWDEN

I am very glad to have this opportunity to thank the leaders of the Soviet trade unions for their invitation to visit their country and for the amazing kindness shown me during my stay in the U S S R I have come to you as a rank-and-file worker in a machine factory and a rank-and-file union member, as a representative of the most oppressed section of the American people As an ordinary Negro woman, I have formed a definite opinion of your country I have compared the situation in your country with the situation in the U S and I will tell you briefly the results of this comparison.

Although Negroes, as slaves, fought for their country's independence, although Negroes fought against slavery, and although they fought—in special army units—to free the world from Hitler fascism, the Negro people are still treated in the United States as a second-rate section of the population To this day Negroes are being lynched In just the state of Tennessee 400 Negroes have been lynched since the second world war In California, from where I come, the police beat up Negroes practically every day Just last year four were killed

During the last war a Negro woman was tied to a tree and pulled to pieces A Negro woman, Rosa Lee Ingram, and two of her sons have been in jail for three years now, although they committed no crime

The wife of one of the Negroes executed in Martinsville has received an eviction order

In the field of labour the Negroes are also severely discriminated against Only a few of them can find work, and for the Negro women jobs are almost impossible to get—for them it's either the menial work of a domestic servant or else unemployment Negroes are hired last and fired first.

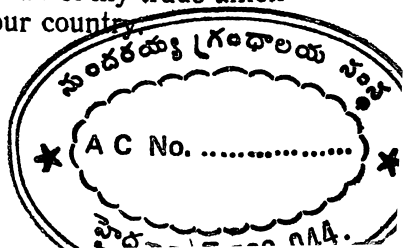
In the Soviet Union I have seen the tremendous difference between the living conditions of the Soviet people and the life of the American people

I have seen buildings which were destroyed during the war against fascism I know very well that war brings death and destruction I know the tremendous sacrifices made by the Soviet people I know their strength—a strength whose equal it is difficult to find and impossible to overcome I have seen how life is being born out of the ruins, how big construction jobs are being carried out, how new houses are going up—houses for the workers, houses of culture, rest homes, museums, fine hospitals I have seen cleanliness everywhere, exceptional cleanliness both in the streets and in factories, and this has made a great impression on me I have seen what the Soviet Government is doing for the workers rest homes, hospitals, children's camps, nursery schools

If I did not have to go back to fight for better living conditions in the U S , for freedom, democracy and peace, I would like to stay and live in the Soviet Union, because here I am treated with the same respect as all women are in your country, women who enjoy equal rights and opportunities and whose labour is so appreciated.

Nothing in the attitude toward me ever reminded me of the country of the lynch law Everywhere we went I saw happy faces I have fallen in love with your country and your people

I greet the Soviet people and on behalf of my trade union I express the desire for peace with your country.



**I WILL TELL ABOUT EVERYTHING
I SAW IN THE U.S.S.R.**

WARREN HOOVER

Friends, I want to thank the Soviet people for the invitation to come to the Soviet Union and to convey friendly greetings from the workers of our country

I have come here as a representative of Local 751 and the Ohio district council of the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America to investigate labour conditions all over Europe, and when I return home I will tell about everything I saw in the Soviet Union to the 30,000 workers I represent

I work in a shop manufacturing electrical equipment and am president of our local, and I know that throughout the twelve years our union has been in existence all our locals



In Leningrad

have been progressive. We have always fought for the vital interests of the workers, and we are continuing to do so.

Our progressive United Electrical and Radio Workers has done everything possible to improve labour conditions, wages and services for the workers. We have won a pay increase, higher pensions, longer vacations, and so on. But because there were many people in our progressive unions who tried to split our ranks, and also because war hysteria is so widespread in our country, the employers were able to put pressure on our workers. All this brought about a split in our union. As a result our union now has slightly more than 300,000 members left, out of more than 400,000. But we hope in the next few years to reunite and increase the number of our members.

This split dealt heavy damage not only to the workers of our union, but to the entire progressive movement in the United States. Because of the lack of trade union unity the workers now find it difficult to fight for their economic demands, for wage increases. But thanks to the efforts of our progressive unions we are doing everything we can to raise the workers' living standards.

Everything I have seen and learned in the U S S R, encourages one to fight for friendly relations between the workers of the U S, S R and the workers of the United States. On the basis of all that I have seen here with my own eyes I feel that we have every opportunity of creating a basis for developing friendship and mutual understanding so that the workers of all the countries of the world might raise their living standards and ensure peace.

MEETING WITH TRADE UNIONISTS IN MOSCOW

On July 17 the delegation met more than 350 representatives of Moscow trade unions in the Grand Hall of the Palace of Labour K S Kuznetsova, Secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions of the U S S R, presided

Fred Saniat, Lee Candea, Stanley Beczkiewicz, Marie Bowden, John Blackwell and Leon Straus told the meeting their impressions of the Soviet Union and spoke about the conditions of American workers¹

I HAVE SEEN THAT THE AMERICAN PRESS PRINTS LIES ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION

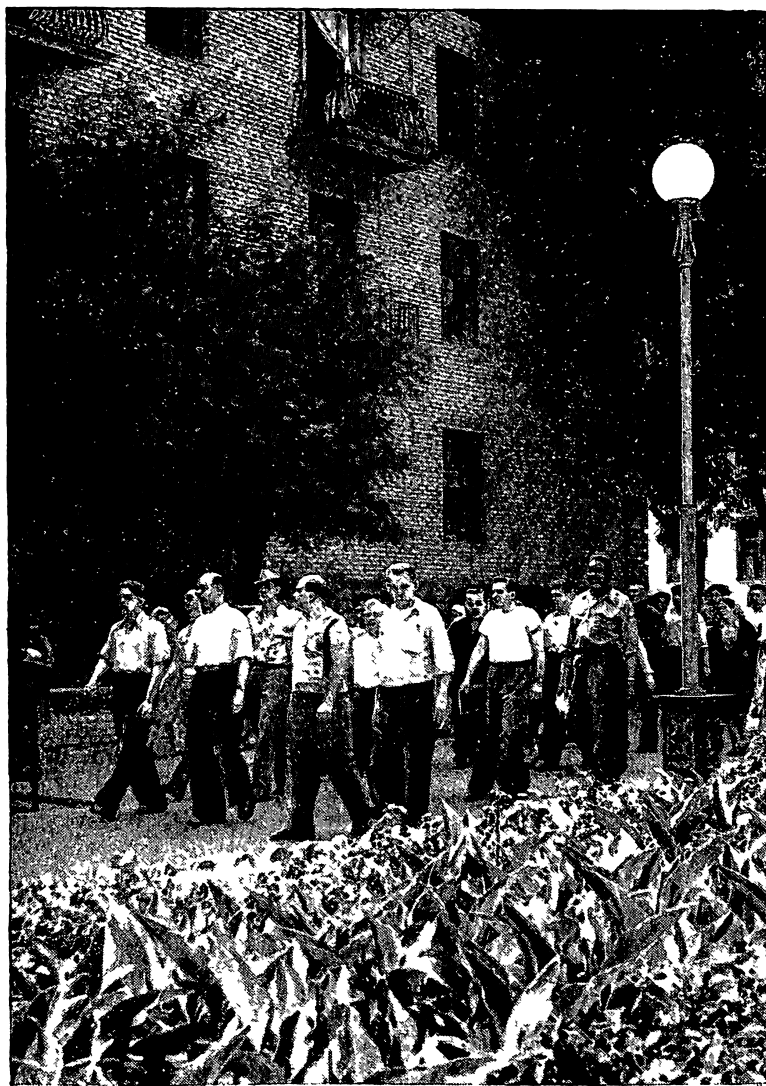
FRED SANIAT

I address you today on behalf of three delegates from three different states. We have all come to a unanimous opinion on the question I am now going to speak about.

I must say I am very sorry our tour is coming to an end. During this short stay in the Soviet Union I have seen many things of historic importance and significance. I have seen your fine work in reconstruction to make the life of the Soviet people even better than it is now.

I have visited many factories and many shops in the Soviet Union and have come to the conclusion that they are all modern, well-equipped, clean and orderly, that they have all the conditions for good work. I have spoken to a large

¹ The speeches have been retranslated from the minutes recorded in Russian.—Ed.



Ін Запорозіє

number of people and they have always willingly answered our questions. This goes for every city we visited

I have seen that the American press prints lies about the Soviet Union, and if this doesn't stop I think it will spread only hate, mistrust and misfortune in our country

But I am sure that the truth will win out, and so are all the workers who are fighting for peace on this earth.

During my stay in the Soviet Union I have seen that the Soviet people are building their future, giving the children a fine upbringing in the spirit of friendship and on a high standard of culture. I am sure that in the near future the people of your country will enjoy the peace and happiness you fully deserve.

In conclusion I want to thank our hosts—the Soviet trade unions and the workers of the Soviet Union—for their kindness and the wonderful reception they have given us during our stay in the Soviet Union. It is a reception I will never forget. In return I can offer only my friendship and express my gratitude

I pledge that when I return I will tell only the truth, only what I have seen, so that on this basis we will be able to establish closer contact and unity between our countries.

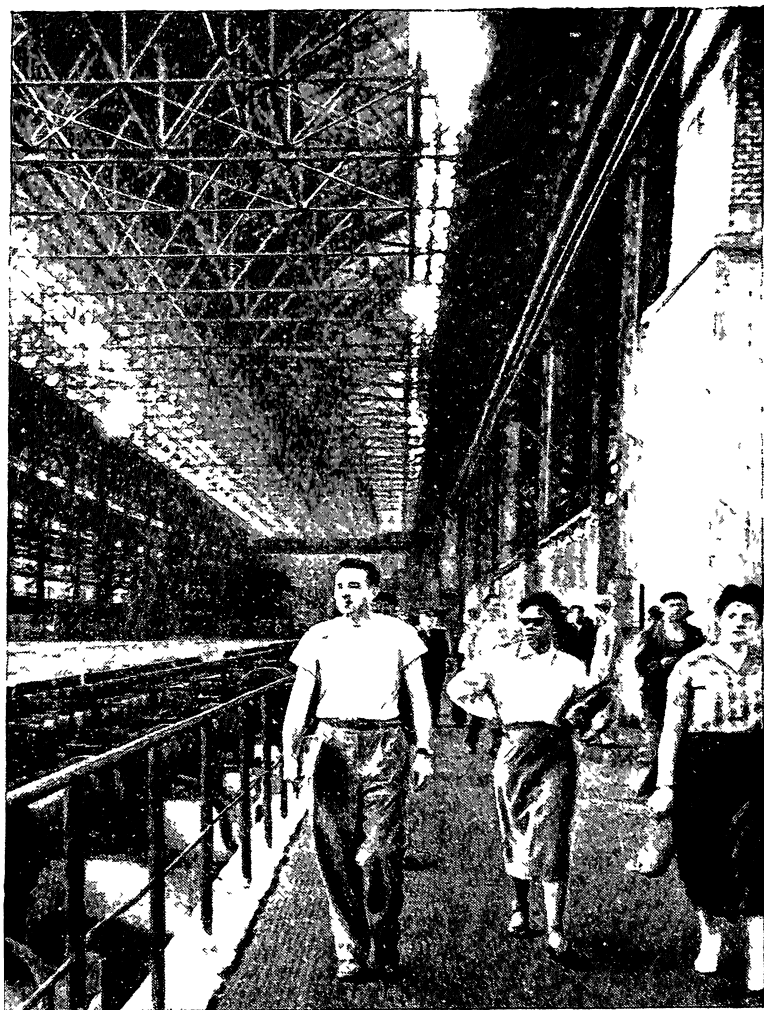
Peace and happiness for the nations of the world!

HAPPY PEOPLE

LEE CANDEA

I am very happy to have this opportunity to say a few words here.

In a few hours we shall be leaving the Soviet Union. Although I feel a little sad at leaving many new friends and acquaintances here, I am also anxious to return to my own land to tell the American workers my observations and conclusions as the result of my experiences here



In the rolling mill department of the Zaporozhie steel plant



During the lunch hour at a Leningrad machine factory

I will touch upon one aspect of my experiences which has deeply impressed me—the Soviet people as I have seen them and gotten to know them

We were greeted at every airport, in every city, with strong handclasps of friendship. We were brought flowers, a wonderful expression of warmth, love and friendship. In every city we visited, you opened your hearts to us and gave us the key to your cities. Wherever we wished to go we had only to mention it and it was arranged that we go—more often—you offered us more than we could see. You took us to concerts, theatres, operas and operettas. No effort was spared that our delegation obtain the maximum amount of knowledge about life in the Soviet Union.

We visited plants, factories, rest homes, a bakery, a winery, children's camps, a collective farm and many, many other places. Wherever we went, we stopped the people at work, on the street, at random to ask questions and they always responded with pride in their work, their country, their aims and their achievements.

We were all moved by the fast disappearing signs of the horrible destruction caused by the war unleashed by Hitlerite fascism.

The Soviet people's desire for peace is reflected in the tremendous large-scale building, reconstruction and restoration program. We found it incredible that in just a few short years, such outstanding progress has been made, and with it, the rich development of culture in every form. The Soviet people have been truly building for peace.

Much of the American press has resorted to outright slanderous lies, distortions and misquotations about the Soviet Union.



At the Linotype Plant in Leningrad

Our country is being mobilized for war. There are powerful forces in our country who call for war. These are the same people who would gear business in our country to provide war contracts with tremendous war profits for a few people. These are the selfish interests who have refused to hear the voices of the American people calling for an end to the fighting in Korea and for peace with China and the whole world. Despite this, instead of treating us as enemies, in your welcome to us you extended your hand of friendship to the American people.

You told us you see the distinction between the American people as a whole and those individuals who are enemies of all the working people of the world, of which we have our share in America.

We will never forget the reception we received in the children's camp, the spontaneous warmth, affection and love expressed when they surrounded us and sang to us. It seemed to me that this could only be the reflection of their teaching and training. This is quite a contrast to the atmosphere surrounding our children. Through the radio, movies, television and our school system they are being taught what to do in case of an atom bomb attack. When the Soviet children greeted us they weren't thinking of war, but of singing and body building. They sent their love to our children in America. They know of our country. They asked for our Paul Robeson. Their teachings of no discrimination against any minority groups and their sympathy for any oppressed people became sharply clear from their especially warm reception of our Negro delegates. It therefore became very apparent that contrary to our American press the Soviet children have been indoctrinated only with pride for their country, respect for other fellow human beings and the rights of all people to live as equals, to live as they please, however they please and wherever they please. Such training helps to build for peace.

All around we have received every conceivable sign of friendship. We have seen a happy people engaged in peace-



Lee Candea chats with members of the Ilyich Collective Farm,
Zaporozhie Region

ful and creative labour The standard of living is good. Wages are high Rents are amazingly low Food is reasonably priced

Trade unions here are free and strong ones, and they ensure Soviet workers many advantages which American workers do not have

In return for your friendship the only request you have made of us is that we tell the truth of what we have seen and heard in the Soviet Union,

I pledge to you that when I return home I will tell the truth about the U S S R not only to the 30,000 workers who are members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union, but to many other thousands whom I will meet I pledge to let the American workers know of your wonderful country, the wonderful people and of your sincere desire for peace.

WE HAVE LEARNED A GREAT DEAL IN THE SOVIET UNION

STANLEY BECKIEWICZ

First of all I should like to point out that I am very glad of this opportunity to spend my last day in the Soviet Union with trade unionists and with Soviet trade union leaders

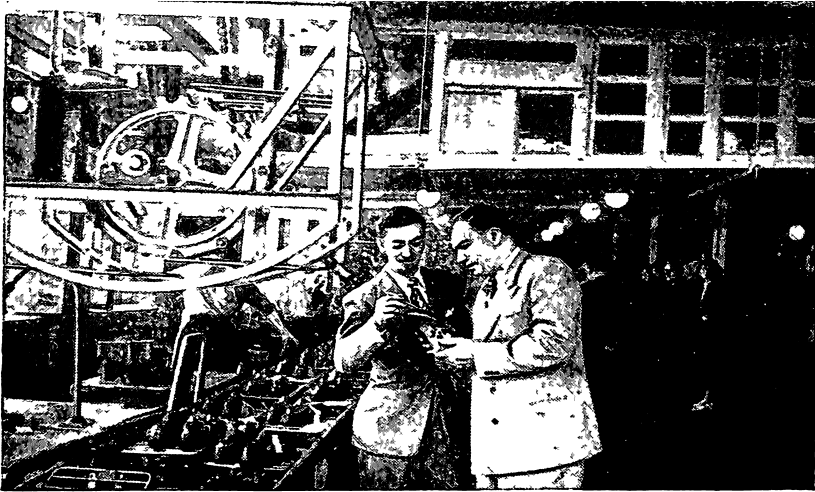
We representatives of the American working class have visited Europe and Soviet Russia. We have come with the object of promoting mutual understanding and solving problems that confront our two peoples

I personally think that during our stay in your country we have learned a great deal by our exchange of opinions on many questions. We have also become acquainted with living conditions and wages. Moreover, we have seen that the workers everywhere want peace. We know that you had many difficulties resulting from the last war and we also understand that the country's prosperity and development cannot be achieved immediately after such destruction as was caused by the war. We have come here to establish closer friendship and collaboration, so as to work in peace.

I thank you for the opportunity to visit your factories. To me the shoe factory was of special interest because, having worked a large number of years in this industry, I wanted to know what difference there was between production methods in your country and ours.

After a warm reception given us by the workers, the chief engineer of the shoe factory told us about the damage caused by the war and about the reconstruction work done since the war.

When we entered the shoe shop I was immediately impressed by the cleanliness, the order, and the abundance of light and air. The next thing that made a strong impression on me was the high degree of mechanization in all the processes and the conveyor system.



At the conveyer in the Skorokhod Shoe Factory, Leningrad

But though there was a conveyer system we did not notice any speed-up. Another thing that struck me was that women were easily doing jobs which in America are done only by high-skilled men workers. When we asked workers whether the work was hard they always smiled and answered, "No."

As for the medical service and the first-aid facilities at the factory—this was a complete revelation to me. I was especially impressed by the clinic which this shoe factory had. In our country it is considered a big achievement if a factory has a first-aid station.

We trade union members and delegates feel that in the near future representatives of the Soviet people may perhaps have the opportunity to visit our country, and we hope that if such a delegation does come we will try to return the warmth, the attention and the friendship shown our delegation.

An especially strong impression was made on me by the warm reception given us by the children of Leningrad and I extend my heartfelt thanks to them

On behalf of the American workers I want to convey to you our wishes for friendship and peace.

IN THE SOVIET UNION PEOPLE ARE VALUED ABOVE ALL ELSE

MARIE BOWDEN

I am very happy to have received such a warm reception from the Soviet trade union leaders. On behalf of the people I represent I want to assure the Soviet trade unions that invited us here, as well as the chairman of the present meeting, that the whole truth about what we saw will be conveyed to the American people.

My position here today is somewhat unusual, yet I am proud that I speak both on my own behalf and on behalf of one of the members of our delegation, Hilliard Ellis, who is ill and asked me to speak for him.

I think that only Comrade Hilliard Ellis and I can fully appreciate, more than the other members of the delegation, the conditions of the Soviet workers as compared with the conditions our workers have in the United States.

I should like to point out that Comrade Hilliard Ellis has a passport limiting his stay abroad and must return home earlier. He asked me to tell you that the "iron curtain" we hear so much about does not exist in the Soviet Union, but we did discover that there is a curtain of flowers here, and that in the Soviet Union, for the first time in his life, he felt he was a full-fledged human being with all the rights enjoyed by the entire people.

Comrade Hilliard Ellis represents workers in the auto industry, and as a foundry man he was especially interest-

ed in foundry work. We visited an auto plant, inspected the foundry shop and saw that the working conditions in the Soviet Union are very good, and that the mechanization is equal to the mechanization in the United States. The safety devices we saw at the auto plant made a very big impression on Hilliard Ellis. He said that when he returned home he would fight with all his energy for similar conditions for the American auto workers.

During our stay here we really came to understand that in the Soviet Union people are valued above all else. We discovered, also, that everything done in the Soviet Union is done for the workers. Splendid working conditions have been created for them. The Soviet workers have rest homes and sanatoriums, they have libraries, they go to the theatre. The workers have opportunities for study and advancement, for which there are special schools, courses and colleges. The American workers, especially Negro workers, do not have such conditions.

It should be noted that the conditions of the Negroes have been growing steadily worse and worse since the end of the second world war. Proof of this is the persecution and the malice toward Negroes, especially in the South. For instance, Negro children can't study in the same school with white children, they can't use the same textbooks.

We have a saying in the United States: the Negro is last to be hired and first to be fired. I would like to tell you about the following case. A week before we left, a whole block of houses in which Negro workers lived in a Negro district was burned down because a progressive leader lived in that district. The well-known progressive leader DuBois, the historian, who has written a history of the Negro people, has been hounded for many years because he is one of the leaders in the American peace movement. Paul Robeson's passport was taken away from him because when he returned home from abroad he told only the truth, and not lies. There are many cases of lynching

in our country As you know, the seven Martinsville boys were executed Today only four of the Trenton Six are at liberty

I mention this here because it is impossible not to speak of this when you come to the Soviet Union, when you see the living conditions of the Soviet workers We know that there is no forced labour in the Soviet Union, and we also know very well that in the southern parts of the United States the status of the Negroes is that of semislaves At one of the factories we visited a worker came up to us, greeted us warmly, shook our hands and invited us to remain here and work That was the invitation of a man who is satisfied with his job I am sure that a man working under slave labour conditions would never make such a proposal

When we return, Hilliard Ellis and I will tell only the truth about what we have seen and learned in the Soviet Union, and no representatives of the administration will be able to make us shut up because the workers know that if the speaker is a Negro worker—a representative of the most militant section of the Negro population of America—then he is fighting to throw off the same chains they themselves are wearing

Hilliard Ellis asked me to tell you that he has faith in the American working class, and that he has faith in the working class of the Soviet Union. If we work in close collaboration and friendship we will guarantee peace

In conclusion I want to convey wishes of friendship and happiness from the workers we represent and wishes for every success in building the society in which people will be guided by the principle from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs

I SAW FREEDOM AND HAPPINESS IN YOUR COUNTRY

JOHN BLACKWELL

I was elected by railroad workers of the city of Spokane and also by woodworkers and mine, mill and smelter workers of Idaho. I have come with a message of friendship and peace from the workers whom I here represent. But I had difficulties in conveying this message of good will, peace and friendship owing to the stream of propaganda lies in the U S press and radio. I had difficulties in arranging my trip. When I applied to the State Department for a passport and declared the purpose of my trip, I was refused. I protested against this violation of my rights. The workers who elected me also protested. They appealed to a number of persons, who helped me to get permission for the trip. And so, thanks to the pressure exerted by the workers we succeeded in having the original decision of the State Department revised. The workers who sent me want to know the truth. I have seen this truth with my own eyes.

I represent hard rock miners, and I live in the state of Idaho, where the Western federation of miners was founded by one of our leaders, who drafted the charter of the federation while in jail. You workers know the name of this man who headed our fight. He was William Haywood, whose ashes are buried in the Kremlin wall. It was then that we began our campaign for better working conditions and higher pay. But our first efforts to improve labour conditions produced no results because the employers did not listen to our demands. There was nothing left for us to do but strike for our demands. That was our first strike. The workers played a militant part in that strike, proudly wearing striker's armbands. The government took a number of repressive measures, going so far as to set fire to the settlement where the miners and their families lived. Police squads were sent out against the workers.

Our trade union was born in those historic days. We fought for our demands for many years, but up until 1941 we did not have any definite successes. In 1941 our union won recognition on a national scale. I was one of the first members of the committee which negotiated on wage questions, and I have been on this committee ever since.

My colleagues and I returned from the army to find that a lull had set in in the working-class movement, but since 1946 we have taken every measure to steer our work in the proper direction. We have scored a number of successes in social insurance and technological improvements. Now we are negotiating for a new system of social insurance and higher pay.

After visiting the coal mines in the Tula district I must say that the Soviet Government pays much attention to the conditions of the miners. In conclusion I want to say that when I return I will tell the workers who sent me that I saw freedom and happiness in your country. I will convey a message of peace and friendship to them.

THE SOVIET PEOPLE MAKE A GOOD LIVING

LEON STRAUS

I greet you on behalf of the president of our Fur and Leather Workers' Union, Ben Gold, and on behalf of the 100,000 members of our union in the United States. We have already spoken much about what we have seen in the U.S.S.R., and we have made several press statements. A full report has been made at a press conference.

During our stay in the Soviet Union we have received answers to our questions and the questions which American workers asked us to get cleared up. We did not see any hungry or starving people in the Soviet Union as we



The delegates visit the poultry section of the Ilych Collective Farm, Zaporozhne Region

were told in the United States we would. On the contrary, we saw that the Soviet people make a good living. They are well-fed, well-clothed and well-housed.

I see that you are smiling. That was also the case in the several cities we visited in your country, but nevertheless stories about "starvation" in the U S S R are printed in the American press.

In studying your living conditions we saw that you have a system of social insurance which gives the workers splendid benefits as regards vacations, pensions, sick pay, and so on. Although some of the members of our delegation do not agree with the political system in your country, they declare that the American working class needs such benefits.

We saw that civil rights exist in the Soviet Union; all the rights of man are granted the Soviet people. As a contrast I want to say a few words about labour conditions in our country. Here is an example. Since the beginning of the war in Korea about which our press has shouted so much, huge sums have been invested in American industry, but it is not the workers who have gained from this. It should be noted that there are several million unemployed and several million part-time workers, and that the number of unemployed is growing larger and larger in the industries manufacturing consumer goods.

It is becoming more and more obvious to our workers that a war economy brings no benefits to the American working class, despite the fact that 60 billion dollars have been invested in industry. On the contrary, prices have soared. There is no price control in our country. On the other hand the government has instituted a wage-freeze. This economic policy is leading us to a grave economic crisis.

A little while ago we had a talk with Chairman Kuznetsov of the Central Council of Trade Unions of the U S S R, and we told him about price statistics. In particular, I want to say that our Bureau of Labour Statistics,

which publishes the official figures, has had to note that food prices have increased by 132 per cent since 1939. As a rule, the Bureau of Labour Statistics "slightly" minimizes, it gives incorrect figures. A number of trade unions that are conducting research in this field testify that prices have increased by 190 per cent. For example, food prices this year are 24 per cent higher than last year. Moreover taxes on the population have trebled. A family earning 3,200 dollars a year, which according to official statistics is the subsistence minimum, pays about 800 dollars a year in taxes.

While the living standard of the people is steadily dropping, the profits of the employers have increased sharply. Let me cite an example. In the four years from 1935 to 1939 these profits comprised 5.5 billion dollars a year. During the war, between 1942 and 1945, the yearly profits rose to 22.5 billion dollars. Between 1947 and 1949 they rose to 30 billion a year, and in 1950 to 40 billion.

Here is another example. In a single year General Motors makes a profit of 4,000 dollars per worker, or more than the average worker earns in a year in this company.

Under the wage-freeze the worker's pay can be increased only 10 per cent, while food prices can increase two, three and four times. And though we are fighting against this, the wage-freeze bars increases of more than 10 per cent.

Although the working class has fought throughout its history for better economic conditions, this situation exists in our country today because the top trade union leaders have betrayed the working class and serve the interests of big business. Nevertheless our workers are continuing their fight for better economic conditions. The majority of the progressive unions which were expelled from the C. I. O. last year now embrace about 1,000,000 workers, headed by progressive leaders.

Some of these progressive unions are represented on our delegation: the electrical workers, the fur and leather work-

ers, the mine, mill and smelter workers and other unions. The progressive unions include the West Coast longshoremen headed by Harry Bridges, the fishermen's union, and so on. The workers of these progressive unions are combining their fight for better economic conditions with a fight against the C I O leadership which is betraying the interests of the working class.

When the C I O leaders joined up with the big corporations and supported their policy, it became clear to the American workers, especially to the workers in these unions, that the C I O leaders are not defending the interests of the working people.

As for the leaders of the A F. of L., they do not have to be taught how to betray the working class. They have learned this well in the course of many years, and such "friends" of the workers, say, as Matthew Woll and William Green are teaching their assistants to hate the Soviet Union and to betray the working class.

The worsening of the economic situation has spurred the progressive unions to organize coordination committees in major cities in a number of states. Coordination committees have been set up in 15 cities, consisting of representatives of the progressive unions, C I O unions and, to a lesser degree, representatives of A F. of L. unions.

Besides close contact and coordination among locals, our unions also have contact on a national scale. However, we have not yet succeeded in fully solidifying our ranks. This is one of the pressing problems facing our progressive labour movement in the United States.

The betrayers of the working class who now head a number of unions are showing their true colours more and more clearly. James Carey has gone so far as to propose an alliance with fascism to fight the Soviet Union. And though they are now in power, these leaders, like James Carey, who are calling for a struggle against you, won't hold their posts long.

Trade union members look upon the Russian people, who fought German fascism, who were our allies in the war against Hitlerism, as our friends, and we look upon the German fascists as our enemies

Our union has 15,000 war veterans, who know what it means to have the Soviet people as an ally, because the Soviet people's struggle helped save our lives. I have had the experience of personal acquaintance with Russian soldiers. I will tell you that when, during the war, one of our big units was surrounded by the Germans in the Ardennes, we followed the radio reports of the Soviet advance with great attention because we knew that the advance of the Soviet Army was saving our lives. I feel that I owe my life to the Soviet Army.

Despite the arrests and all the persecution in our country at the present time, I want to assure you that we are true and sincere friends of your country and will always remain friends of your people.

We will constantly call for peace and general disarmament because that is the way we can ensure peace.

Long live friendship between the American and Soviet people and among the people of the whole world!

Long live peace!

THE REPORT OF THE DELEGATION IN NEW YORK

Upon its return the delegation held a press conference in New York on August 9, which was attended by reporters from trade union and bourgeois newspapers.

Leon Straus, Chairman of the delegation, read the following general report, signed by all the members of the delegation.

The American trade union delegation that visited Europe in July 1951 was composed of representatives of workers in A.F. of L., C.I.O. and independent unions from coast to coast. They came from the following industries: automobile, mines, shoe, sheet metal, fur and leather, electrical and machine workers, distributive trades, department stores and hotel and restaurant workers. The delegates also represented a wide variety of political opinions.

The delegation spent five weeks in Europe and visited the following countries: France, Italy, Poland and the Soviet Union. In addition the delegates were able to spend a limited time in Berlin, Vienna and Prague.

The delegation went to Europe at the invitation of European trade unions. In each country we were invited by leading trade union federations and met with both trade unionists and their leaders.

One thing that we found in every country we visited was a deep desire on the part of the people for friendship with the American people. Wherever we went, workers expressed this sentiment. In some countries the degree of unity of workers, in their own interest, was greater than in others but in all countries we were made aware of this desire on

the part of all workers for friendship, and the most important message we were asked to bring back was that of peace.

Similarly, even though conditions of labour varied in the countries we visited, we found that everywhere working people have much to gain from the friendship of the American people, just as we have much to gain from the things our delegation was able to see in the course of our visit.

Here are some of the observations we made of labour conditions in the countries we visited.

France—In France we met many trade union leaders, representatives of various kinds of trade unions, in addition to visiting workers right in factories. We met with leaders of the electrical workers' union, metal workers' union, miners, paper-box workers, fur and leather, and shoe workers, as well as with the General Secretary of the General Confederation of Labour Brother Frachon. From all of them we heard this message of friendship, international solidarity of labour and peace.

The delegation visited an airplane engine plant outside Paris called the Hispano-Suiza Plant. We met workers and leaders of all the three major unions in France—the General Confederation of Labour, the CGT (which has an overwhelming majority of workers unified in its ranks), the Force Ouvrière and the Christian Democratic Union. For example, in this plant out of 3,400 workers, 1,860 were members of the CGT, 269 were members of the Force Ouvrière, 299 were members of the Christian Democratic Union, and 380 were members of the Independent Union of Engineers.

We soon learned that the division of workers into many federations within the same factory inevitably weakens the workers' strength and therefore their conditions. For one thing, a very large percentage of workers were not members of any union. Their pay and working conditions reflected this. They earn an average of 37.5 cents hourly. Without exception all workers told us that they were unable to meet

the tremendously high cost of living on their salary. Prices have skyrocketed in France just as they have in our own country. Workers informed us that the employers were making exorbitant profits, while they, the workers, are unable to make ends meet. The delegation had an opportunity to observe housing conditions of workers and saw the most miserable hovels and shacks that it is possible to imagine with horrible plumbing and toilet facilities.

However, this report would be incomplete if it did not make clear that the workers of France are uniting more and more and are fighting for better wages and working conditions. The majority of workers have a strong labour organization in the CGT. In the Renault automobile plant, which has about 35,000 workers, the CGT has 28,000 members, the Force Ouvrière—1,700, and the Christian Democratic Union—2,800. The CGT functions very effectively as a powerful organization of labour, with regular meetings, conferences and many struggles conducted for better working conditions. Its concern for workers goes beyond the actual factory. We were fortunate enough to be able to visit a camp owned and operated by the metal workers' union, where we saw how the union makes efforts to improve the life of its members.

French workers asked for support of the American trade unions in their struggles against their employers for a decent living wage. They pointed out that the employers of America are giving every kind of assistance to French employers with grants of money and machinery through the Marshall plan enabling them to make outrageous profits.

The French workers, on the other hand, are suffering more and more each year. It is no wonder that they call for international solidarity between French and American workers to mutually improve our conditions.

Italy—In Italy we met with active workers and trade unionists in the city of Rome as well as with leaders of the General Confederation of Italian Labour and its General Secretary Di Vittorio.

We discussed problems of American labour and answered their questions. Similarly we heard from Italian workers about their problems. There too workers pointed out the need for greater labour solidarity, as aid to the increasing strength of Italian labour in its struggle for better conditions. We learned that the CGIL, like the CGT in France, has a great majority of workers in its ranks. It has a membership of five million while the Christian Democratic Union has 500,000 members and the Social Democratic Union—150,000 members.

The leaders of the CGIL including many who are themselves Catholics and Socialists pointed out to us that when labour struggles take place, all workers, regardless of their affiliation, participate in them, but that the only guarantee of greater progress of labour is consistent unity within one federation.

One of the most serious problems faced by Italian workers is unemployment, which has increased greatly. Unfortunately the Marshall plan has stimulated rather than reduced this unemployment. This example was given to us: previously Italy produced a great deal of machinery which she had then exchanged for wheat from the United States, thus providing employment to many workers in the machine industry. However, under the Marshall plan the United States gave a great deal of grain to Italy. Since there is no longer an exchange of machinery for this grain, many machine/factories have had to close down and workers have been thrown out of work. To make matters worse, Italian industrialists were loaned 200 million dollars under the Marshall plan to buy machinery from the United States. Thus while they made a tremendous profit out of this transaction, it hurts Italian workers by causing greater unemployment. Not only that, but workers, through their taxes, are forced to pay interest on this gift, thereby taking an additional cut in their standard of living. We were told that there are two million unemployed workers and another two

million workers working part time. This was confirmed by United Nations figures which indicate four million unemployed in Italy. When one considers that the total labour force in Italy is only nine million workers we can get an idea of the terrific rate of unemployment.

As an example of how difficult it is for workers to live in Italy we were informed that a worker needs about 60,000 lire monthly in order to make ends meet. The average pay is 30,000 lire monthly or about 50 dollars. This is 50 dollars monthly, not weekly. How can these workers be expected to make a living?

But in Italy, like in France, the story is incomplete without indicating the tremendous struggle that the CGIL is conducting and the many gains this is winning for workers. Last September, the workers through their unions won a wage increase. They have had to conduct many strikes, they have had a great deal of interference from employers, the government and from those who are trying to disunite their organizations. But despite these obstacles they were able to win an additional eight per cent wage increase this last April.

As far as conditions are concerned we found that many Italian workers work 48 hours a week—eight hours daily six days a week, others work longer hours. The union has been able to win a 20 per cent bonus for overtime work in some industries and a 50 per cent bonus in other industries. Most holidays are paid as holidays and workers receive double time for holiday work. Only a small percentage of workers have paid vacations. The union has succeeded in eliminating discrimination of any kind in industry.

In going to and coming from East Europe we were able to halt in the United States zones of Berlin and Vienna. Unfortunately, we did not have opportunities to visit factories and discuss problems with workers. However, we did notice one thing of great importance which we feel should be reported. Here was the dividing line of Europe. Here we saw

American soldiers serving as occupation troops in Germany and Austria. Here we began to see that the world is divided into two parts and that if there is to be peace, these two parts must learn to live together. It is our conviction that this process is not being helped by the presence of occupation armies anywhere—whether they are American or Russian or any other.

We visited Prague while in transit to Poland and the Soviet Union. The day we spent in Prague waiting for an airplane interested the delegation very much. Throughout the city we saw many signs of American traditions, and influences and backgrounds in housing, architecture and many other aspects of life. We saw clean streets, well-organized social order, prosperous people and stores jammed with products. If one were to take his eyes off signs in the Czechoslovak language he would think he was in a particularly clean, prosperous American city.

These people too continually proclaim their friendship for the American people and ask only to live in peace with the rest of the world.

Poland—In Warsaw we met with both trade union leaders and workers. The thing that impressed us most in Warsaw was the terrible destruction caused by the war. We still saw whole areas levelled to the ground. Even though the majority of the devastation has been repaired there is still a tremendous amount of construction going on in the city. On every street, as far as the eye could see, in every direction scaffoldings are still up in the front of every house.

We learned that one out of every 25 workers in Poland is a building worker engaged in constructing new homes; that the most important task of the country is the rebuilding of Poland, that there is no unemployment, that the standard of living is constantly improving, that workers pay only up to five per cent of their wages for rent, that workers do not pay for social insurance or for many social services including nurseries for their children.

As far as conditions of work are concerned there is generally a 46-hour week consisting of five days at eight hours per day and six hours on Saturday. Workers are paid time and a half or double time for overtime work. In some industries like the metal, chemical, mining industries, workers work 34 hours a week. All the workers receive 70 per cent of their wages when they are sick, besides free medical treatment. Workers who are employed for one year receive two weeks' vacation with pay, after three years they receive three weeks and after ten years—a one-month vacation.

We were able to quickly see why these people constantly told us of their hatred for nazi fascists who caused this terrible destruction by systematically mining every house, street and blowing them up with dynamite.

We could see why these people hate war with all their heart and appeal to us so earnestly for peace between our two countries. We saw that this reconstruction of their country was the most important thing to them—that all their energy is devoted to rebuilding their homes and factories and the winning of a better life. We were able to understand their desire that nothing should stand in the way of this tremendous task.

Russia—Fortunately we were able to spend a good deal more time in the Soviet Union. During our three weeks there we travelled by bus, auto, railroad, plane, motorboat and motor launch. We covered over five thousand miles. We saw the cities of Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, Zaporozhie, Simferopol and Yalta. In these cities and their suburbs we saw steel, auto and tractor plants, a shoe factory, a printing plant, a machine plant, a bakery, an electrical power station, a collective farm, subways, department and food stores, a winery, apartment houses, churches, theatres, movies, museums, parks, rest homes, sanatoria, hotels, children's camps, a hospital and botanical gardens. We were in barber shops, beauty parlours and libraries. We saw and spoke to thousands of workers.



At the Lenin Dnieper Hydroelectric Station

When we came to the Soviet Union and were received by trade union leaders in Moscow as we arrived at the airport, the chairman of our delegation, in response to greetings extended to us by the trade unions and people of the city, enumerated several questions that influence the thinking of American people and expressed our determination to find answers to these questions.

Among these questions were the following: is the standard of living as low as pictured in the United States; are starvation wages in existence; do workers have enough food; are there inflation and price rises; is there slave labour; why are there no strikes; do people have civil rights; is there a secret police dogging everyone's steps so that fear exists in the country; is there speed-up on the job; is there freedom of religion; is there free speech, press and radio; and most important of all—does the Soviet Union want war?

We spent most of our time in the Soviet Union because it has become abundantly clear that the greatest differences that exist in the world today are those between the United States and the Soviet Union, and that unless greater understanding develops between our two peoples these differences can only widen through the efforts of those who exploit these differences for their own selfish gain, until they would finally explode into a world war—a terrible holocaust that would destroy both our peoples and the world. Therefore we had to find out what this country and its people are like.

We truly saw what they are like. They are ordinary people like people all over the world—like the American people. They too want friendship and peace.

Here are the answers to the questions we asked:

The workers in the Soviet Union make a good living. They are well-fed, well-clothed and well-housed. We did not see any hungry or starving people. The rents they pay average from three to six per cent of their total wages. This may sound amazingly incredible to Americans but we personally checked in every factory we visited, spoke to thousands of workers and found this to be the absolute truth. Workers receive from 14 to 30 days' vacation every year depending upon their skill, length of service and productive ability. Their vacations are paid for by government funds administered by trade unions. Workers are paid when sick. Women have two and a half months' paid leave for maternity care.

Nowhere did we see any speed-up as we know it on the assembly lines of the factories in America. We did see good equipment, modern machinery and safe healthful working conditions. The factories had plenty of air and ample windows and light. There is comfortable working space between machines and, generally speaking, factories and streets are kept even cleaner than homes.

Despite the desire of the whole country and people for increased productivity, which is reflected in the payment of special bonuses for improved technique and extra effort, real safeguards are taken against accidents. We found the workers' health, age, and physical condition to be of prime consideration regardless and above all else.



Vincent Moscato talks with a dairymaid at the Ilyich
Collective Farm, Zaporozhie Region



In the orchard of the Ilyich Collective Farm, Zaporozhie Region

During our tour we did not see a single worker who could be characterized as "slave labourer." Workers spontaneously stopped their machines when they heard that our delegation was visiting their plant and freely answered our questions. They likewise asked us questions about our life in the United States. Without any doubt, not a single worker by word, manner or glance indicated any fear to us for his safety, family or his life.

This question of "slave labour" became as much of a joke to the American delegates as it is to the Soviet people. So much so that on several occasions when we saw workers relaxing or sleeping in the sun we shouted: "Wake up, slave labourer, you're not allowed to do that!" Or we kiddingly remarked: "That poor fellow must have been worked to death."

In this connection our delegation agrees with the report of the C.I.O. delegation to the Soviet Union in 1945 which included James Carey, Allen Haywood, Joseph Curren and

Emil Rieve, and which said: "We were impressed with the character of the Soviet trade unions and with their many excellent activities in promoting the interests of workers in economic and social welfare and cultural fields, as well as with the most far-reaching character of the social insurance system they operate which is designed to protect the working people and their families against all contingencies from the cradle to the grave."

What these trade union leaders saw in 1945, our delegation saw on a much expanded scale in 1951. We are therefore unable to understand how it is possible for these same trade unionists today, without having revisited the Soviet Union, to repudiate everything they said before and suddenly unveil Hearst-like stories of "slave labour" in the Soviet Union—stories which are nothing more than figments of their imaginations.

It is interesting to observe that contrary to the horror stories of the so-called "iron curtain" as depicted in many parts of our press, this delegation had complete freedom of movement in the Soviet Union. There were no secret police following us around. Instead, in every city, we left our hotels when we pleased and we walked through the streets without guides or interpreters day or night whenever we chose to do so. We walked through and around the Red Square in Moscow on many occasions. The delegation feels compelled to contrast this freedom of movement with conditions in our own country. There were several other elected representatives of workers who were scheduled to come on this delegation. Some were not given passports, others had their passports revoked and still others were given restricted time-limited passports. One of the delegates was refused his passport and only after considerable protests were exerted did he receive permission from our government to travel abroad.

We call the attention of the American people to the need for a changed attitude on the part of our government on this vital question of freedom of movement.

We saw complete freedom of religion in the Soviet Union. In every city we visited we saw both churches and people attending them. In Moscow several of our delegates who are Roman Catholics went to the Roman Catholic Church of Saint Louis on two separate Sundays. As is usual they found the same people there on the second time that they had seen previously. These people explained that they have been going to church in Moscow all their lives, that they attend church regularly and that nobody interfered with their right to attend. They said that while their children did not receive any religious training in school, they likewise did not receive any antireligious training. They pointed out that after the war, since their church had been destroyed, the parishioners had petitioned the government for a church and were given one free. The entire amount of the taxes paid by their church to the government amounts to two hundred dollars a year. The priest is paid by the congregation and does no other work outside his religious functions.

With regard to Jewish people we learned that under the Soviet constitution anti-Semitism is a crime against the state with heavy penalties assessed for it. We found out that most Jews in the areas of western Russia occupied a prominent part in every aspect of the political, economic and cultural life of the country and many of them have received the Stalin prize for their contributions in these fields. Jewish synagogues function freely all over the country in addition to Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic and other churches. We learned that the place where Jewish culture and religion is most extensively developed is the Jewish national state of Birobidjan where the Jewish people have their own newspapers and schools and where the Jewish language is taught to children.

While touring plants and factories we learned that workers who are sick are sent home or taken care of by the hospital attached to the factory or plant, without any loss of pay. Absenteeism is very low. Where it exists it is taken care of by



The delegation on Red Square, Moscow

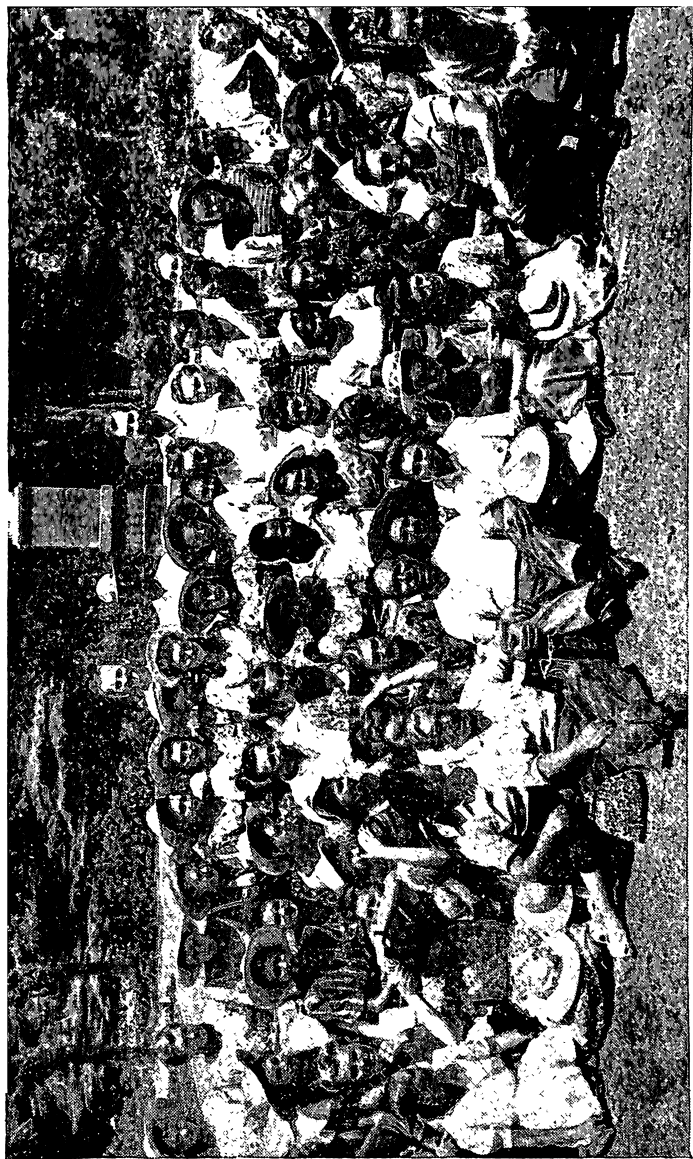
the workers and trade union organization through many discussions. Where it becomes incurable, chronic, workers are discharged and find jobs in other plants. There is no unemployment. Everywhere we went we saw "help wanted" signs. Due to the tremendous amount of reconstruction and peaceful expansion of industry, more labour is needed. We saw great numbers of women working in all jobs, categories and skills, including drivers of railroad trains.

The workers explained that they have no strikes in the Soviet Union because their country belongs to them. They explained that they are working for themselves and not for profits to be realized by any employers. Their production is turned back to them in the form of better and more abundant goods, making for a higher standard of living.

They also pointed out that they have an effective trade union organization and strong collective bargaining agreements through which their complaints, grievances and problems are quickly and satisfactorily adjusted with the management. The unions are in a position to deal effectively with the management up to and including the removal of directors who violate the rights of workers.

We do not want to give the impression in this report, despite the many wonderful and advanced things we saw during our visit there, that everything is wonderful in the Soviet Union. There are some respects in which the Soviet Union would do well to emulate what exists in the United States. Perhaps most important of all we found plumbing facilities inadequate. In the United States such facilities are also inadequate in certain sections of the country, particularly in communities where working people, Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans live. Yet the facilities there are not quite up to our standards.

Generally speaking this is also true of the railroads. We realize that because of the devastating destruction of the war, the immediate needs of the Russian people were to rebuild both industry and homes. Nevertheless, we wish to



The members of the delegation are here photographed with students of Dniepropetrovsk University who were on student practice at the Nikitsky Botanical Gardens in the Crimea

point out that our railroad facilities are more advanced and much better than those in the Soviet Union.

This was no guided tour. We were not given any prearranged program by our hosts. We were not carefully protected and prevented from speaking to the people of the country. We informed the trade union leadership what cities and what factories we wanted to see. They took us to those places. When we visited factories, we selected the workers we talked to at random. In addition we spoke freely to many people in the streets, subways, churches, parks and museums.

By speaking to hundreds of workers in the factories, we checked the stories of one another and against our notes, so that translators could not misinterpret what we were being told. In every factory we visited, we found one or two workers who could speak English and who conversed at length with the delegation. In the parks and theatres many students who are learning English came up to talk to us. So we had many ways of getting the exact and correct information that we wanted and not that which might have been prepared for us.

Everywhere we went we found a tremendous desire for friendship with the American people. Any idea spread by the press that the Soviet people hate us is simply ridiculous. Any idea spread in certain quarters of our country that the Soviet Government hates us is equally ridiculous. There is such love and support by the people for their leaders that if this were the case, then there would be no question but that any hatred of America by the government would influence the people to likewise hate America. This is true in our country where large numbers of people are influenced by the policies of our government. In all truthfulness there is burning hatred there for those in America who call for war with the Soviet Union, for those who advocate dropping atom bombs and for those who are in favour of continuing and spreading the Korean war. But for the American people there is only the greatest respect and friendship. As a matter of fact, Rus-



At a children's summer camp in the Ukraine

sian trade unionists in Leningrad celebrated our Independence Day, July Fourth, with the American delegation with the wish that America be free, independent and at peace with the world.

Perhaps the greatest proof of the truth of all this is the overwhelming reception accorded to the delegation by children. In every instance in children's camps, in theatres where they were performing, in parks, streets and in all cities we were in, the children rushed over to send their love to the children of America. There are those in America who say that Russian children are indoctrinated by the Socialist society they live in. But if it were true that the government of the Soviet Union feels that the Americans are their enemies, surely then it would be reflected in the children of this country.

On the other hand while it may be said that the people we saw in factories we visited were all prepared to falsely represent their opinions and conditions to us, still no one can say that children can conceal their real feelings. Children cannot be taught to falsely represent love for hatred. And these many experiences convinced us on this point.

So we have come to the conclusion that someone has been trying to pull the wool over the eyes of the American people. As to preparations for war, stories in our country have been completely misleading. We have seen only peaceful economy with no reconversion for war production. Auto plants we saw continued to produce passenger cars. There was no reconversion in order to produce tanks, airplane engines. Tractor plants continued to produce tractors. One of the biggest steel plants in the country in Zaporozhie is not producing cannon, armour plate or ammunition but is turning out rolled steel for peacetime machinery and equipment, including automobile. The biggest industry in the Soviet Union is still production of building materials and actual construction of housing for workers. We have not seen the construction of one air-raid shelter and in Moscow we lived in a hotel across the street from the Kremlin.



At the steel mill in Zaporozhie

One question was sharply pointed up for this delegation and that is the absolute equality of all peoples, nationalities, races, regardless of sex, in the country that has very many nationalities. This was shown in the special attention paid by the people wherever we went to the Negro members of our delegation. There is no Jim Crow discrimination against the coloured peoples in their housing, work, pay or culture or in any respect. There are no jailings of minorities or lynchings of people because of their colour. The coloured people and minorities eat in the same restaurants, sleep in the same hotels, go to the same beauty parlours and barber shops. This occurs not on the basis of their passing for white but because of the conscious policy that there is no discrimination against any human being.

Even though some members of our delegation served their nation in the armed forces of the United States in the last war at the battlefronts and saw what damage war can do, this delegation was shocked by the extent of destruction caused by the last war in the Soviet Union. In Stalingrad, for example, not one single building has been left standing. We learned therefore why these people hate war. Ten million people were killed. In almost every family bitter memories have remained. We began to appreciate why the most burning desire of everyone in the Soviet Union is for peace. Every greeting, every farewell, every Soviet worker we talked to cried out for peace. In Leningrad an old woman textile worker told us what misery war had caused in her personal family and begged us to convey her feelings, the feelings of the workers in her plant and the feelings of the people in her city for a peaceful world.

At the bread-making factory in Moscow the workers told us that they wanted to continue to make more and better bread for their people in a world of peace. The workers in the tractor plant in Stalingrad told us that to them war meant the death of one-third of their city's population and the destruction of their entire city. How could they possibly want war?

In Zaporozhie the children in the camp, some of whose parents were killed in the last war, movingly expressed their earnest wish for a peaceful world in which their future would be secured.

In Yalta, where workers were resting in sanatoria getting well or vacationing, they flocked around the American delegates asking why any disagreements arising out of the differences in our social systems could not be negotiated through peaceful means.

We were asked why our government was ringing the world with military and aviation bases. We were asked why the military alliance aimed at the Soviet Union—the North-Atlantic pact—was concluded. We were asked why millions of dollars in our economy are being spent for war preparations. We were asked why in the very halls of our Congress government officials called for war against the Soviet Union. We were asked why hoodlums were permitted to attack United Nations' Soviet representative Malik and his associates in their car, as an overt gesture of enmity. We were asked why peaceful trade between the Soviet Union and the United States was stopped by the American government.

Conclusion.

In every country all the workers of all political beliefs and convictions, of all religious faiths—young and old, men and women, have told us of their earnest desire for peace. They cannot understand and neither can the members of this delegation understand those few madmen who keep on calling for war. How can anyone understand the man who stands up in the halls of Congress and shrieks that we should drop the atom bomb on Moscow? No one can understand how in this day and age a civilized country can increase armaments, make military alliances and instruct its generals to chart out new wars.

We told the Russian people—as we tell the American people—that we want universal disarmament. We want the

Russian army to be disarmed and demobilized just as we want the American army disarmed and demobilized. We exchanged greetings with the Russians on the occasion of America's national holiday of July 4th, honouring American people, at which time we called for independence for all the nations and freedom for all the people. In Yalta, where the historic conference of wartime allies fighting against fascism took place—where our late President Roosevelt enunciated his principles for world peace and freedom—we called upon the Russian people as we now call upon the American people for universal, everlasting friendship. The only pacts we ask for are peace pacts, not military ones. The only bonds we ask for are those of friendship and not those created by money or by selfish alliances.

We hope that this message will be distributed as widely through America as the message we delivered to the Russian workers and the Russian people was distributed through the Soviet Union. We spoke on the radio there and said these same things. Not once were we told what to say, even by suggestion. Not once were we asked what we were going to say. Never did we have to submit a prepared text in advance nor was anything we said censured. Our articles and interviews were printed in the Russian papers. This freedom of press and radio is such that while a tremendous number of newspapers and magazines are printed and read by practically everyone and while almost all the people have and listen to radios there is still a demand for more.

We bring this report to you as a public service in the best interests for the American nation, with our most fervent hopes for a greater America in a world of peace.

